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ABSTRACT

This paper analyzes the recent and past demographic, economic, political, and social causes of community college enrollment trends. It also discusses the effects on enrollment of proximity and low cost; the reclassification of existing institutions to two-year college status; community college usurpation of functions formerly provided by other institutions; the new majority of part-time students; the drift toward serving all persons over 17 years of age; the redefinition of the term "student;" and the strategies of recruitment, relaxed admissions and grading policies, and falsifying enrollment data for funding purposes. The implications of all these factors on the future functioning of the community college are noted. Tables indicate community college enrollments in selected states (fall 1974), population and registered births in the United States (1935-39 to 1970-74), nationwide full-time and part-time community college enrollments (1969-73), full-time and part-time female community college enrollments (1972-74), student headcount enrollment by instructional program area in Illinois public community colleges (1968-74), and enrollments in California public colleges, community colleges, and universities (1973). (DC)

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RIDING THE WAVE OF NEW ENROLLMENTS

by

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Topical Paper No. 50

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RIDING THE WAVE OF NEW ENROLLMENTS

by John Lombardi

Introduction

The spectacular growth of the community colleges since 1945 is probably the outstanding educational event of this era. Whether we think in terms of colleges, students, financial support, expenditures, faculty, the numbers are staggering. During the second half of the 1960's the number of public two-year colleges increased at the rate of one or more a week, with a low of 51 during 1965 and a high of 91 during 1969. During the decade the total number almost doubled from 405 in 1960 to 794 in 1969. Even more impressive were enrollment numbers which rose from 566 thousand in 1960 to more than two million in 1969, an increase of 262 percent. The yearly enrollment growth rate during the 1960's varied between 2.6 percent in 1960 and 24 percent in 1965 with a median of 14 percent (Koltai and Thurston, 1971).

Another index of growth is the percentage of students who begin their college careers in this new institution. Since 1969 it has grown from 40 percent to 48 percent in 1974 ("Opening Fall Enrollment...", 1974). As early as 1969 California colleges enrolled 88 percent of the first-time-in-college students, Florida, 65 percent and Michigan, 50 percent (Koltai and Thurston, 1971, p. 7).

So fascinated were the educators with these numbers that rising enrollments became the principal measure of success. Growth was, and for many still is, equated with excellence. No other feature was and is highlighted more prominently in the media, at conferences, and in the professional journals. Because "data are concrete" and because qualitative measures are elusive, administrators "have come to believe that quantitative data are the only kind that have meaning in complex organizations" (Alfred, 1974, pp. 3, 4).

These golden years of college expansion and enrollment growth induced an hypnotic effect on educators and leaders of their professional organizations. Few could imagine or would consider the possibility of a reversal of the upward trend. They looked for substantial growth to extend well into the twenty-first century. Despite the evidence that a slowdown was affecting every other

segment of education, community college educators kept insisting that it would not affect them, not permanently anyway. In fact, they were certain that the growth rate would continue as the laggard states caught up with the pacesetter states of California, Florida, Illinois, Michigan, New York, Texas and Washington which in 1969 accounted for two-thirds of all enrollments (American Association of Junior Colleges, 1970, p. 81). For 1980, Wattenbarger and associates projected an enrollment of 10 to 12 million if the educators could get just 50 persons of every 1,000 of the population to enroll in one or more courses (1970, p. 45).

In the light of this euphoria it was not surprising that community college educators were stunned in 1971 and 1972 when enrollments failed to reach the projections they had made the previous year (Lombardi, 1972). For some, the miscalculation resulted in the painful process of reducing staff, an activity for which most administrators were unprepared. With some embarrassment they were forced to think of reduction in force (RIF) rather than recruitment of staff. Despite some recovery, formulating policies for implementing RIF has become a high priority activity and an important issue during collective bargaining negotiations (Lombardi, 1974b).

An upturn in the enrollment curve in 1973 and 1974 has dispelled some of the gloom of the previous two years. As a result of substantial enrollment increases in 1973 and 1974, educators are once again looking toward to a new series of annual yearly enrollment increases far into the 1980's.

The optimism today, however, is not as ebullient as that of the 1950's and 1960's. There are too many colleges with static or declining enrollments, and for many others the increases are not the kind that translate into the large enough numbers of full-time student equivalents (FTE) to match those of the 1960's and to generate comparable appropriations. FTE, not Headcount, determines the amount of money the colleges receive. The lower rate of growth is compounded by the fact that the ratio of full-time to part-time has been getting lower and lower. To maintain the enrollment equivalent of the 1960's, colleges must enroll a great many more part-time students.

To do so they are resorting or being urged to resort to marketing and selling techniques. They have tapped practically the whole population

range eighteen years of above as the source of students. In fact, were it not for the older men and women who are flocking to college in large numbers as participants and students, the situation for community colleges would be as serious as it is for other segments of education. This older age group has made up in large part for the decline of 18-22 year olds who used to be the mainstay of the entering college population.

For community colleges, marketing and selling techniques to attract new sources of students include a proliferation of short or mini-courses, expanded work-study programs, multiplication of satellite sub-campuses, relaxed admission standards and assumption of new functions including recreational and custodial for the elderly, literacy education for illiterates and counseling for drug addicts and alcoholics. The suggestion has even been made that the college "serve as a broker" (Gleazer, 1973-1974, p. 11) in seeing to it that identified postsecondary educational needs are met either through its services or other appropriate institutions, as ambitious a goal as it is unrealistic. One need not speculate too deeply to predict the reaction of senior college educators to this presumption.

Of the many other changes taking place in the colleges none seems more dramatic than the redefinition of students, one of the principal causes of the high headcount enrollments. Today, some colleges include as students people who merely attend activities called continuing community services education or public service projects. As a result, enrollment comparisons with prior years may have less meaning than formerly and previous projections based on credit course enrollment must be modified or discarded. In the future we may be talking about people served rather than students enrolled.

All of these efforts are barely keeping effective enrollment, as measured by FTE, from declining. The overshadowing demographic statistics are foreboding. The approach of zero population growth, the declining birthrate, the drop in K-12 enrollment and the withdrawal from college attendance of a sizeable percentage of high school graduates are serious deterrents to the resumption of an enrollment surge comparable to that of the 1960's. The lower rate of college-going may be an indication of enrollment saturation in many states.

In this paper enrollments are taken from the annual Directory of the American Association of Community and Junior Colleges, supplemented by individual state and college reports when appropriate. For consistency, national enrollments are used even though later a change may be reported by another agency. Each Directory includes the enrollments of the previous two years; thus the 1974 Directory includes the 1972 and 1973 fall enrollments. In all but the 1975 Directory the earlier year enrollments, more detailed than the later, are those used in this study. These earlier year enrollments always include full time and part-time breakdown and are usually slightly different from those reported in the previous year. Enrollments are exclusively Headcount, the number of students enrolled in one or more courses, and usually (not always) include only credit students. For total credit and non-credit enrollments one must go to the state reports. Occasionally, mention will be made of FTE enrollments, a statistical measure of full-time student equivalents obtained by dividing the total number of student credits or class attendance hours per week by 15 or 12 or some other unit. The FTE in most states is used for apportioning state funds to the colleges.

Changes in the title of the annual Directory of the American Association of Community and Junior Colleges reflect the changes in the classification of two-year institutions. Until 1972 the title was Junior College Directory. For the next two years it was known as the Community and Junior College Directory, a recognition of the predominant role of community college enrollments. In 1975 the title was again changed to Community, Junior and Technical College Directory, which brings into focus the vocational-technical institutions whose enrollments now constitute a large percentage of the total. For national enrollment statistics the annual Directory is without doubt the most comprehensive of the various sources.

For some states the Directory and state reports on enrollments are close, indicating either that colleges are including all enrollments under the new definition of student enrollment or that they report only credit enrollment. More will be said about this development later. Here, in Table I, a few examples of the differences between Directory and State reports are given.

TABLE I

Comparison of Selected AACJC 1975 Directory and State Agency Headcount Reports

Enrollments Fall 1974

State	Directory	State Report
Florida	148,804	208,002
Illinois	233,396	267,349
Oregon (Fall 1973)	72,411	77,237
Texas	193,430	214,123

Sources:

Florida Department of Education, Division of Community Colleges. Fall 1974 Opening Enrollment--Headcount: Florida Community Colleges. Tallahassee, Florida, 1974.

Illinois Community College Board. Student Enrollment Data and Trends in the Public Community Colleges in Illinois: Fall 1974. Springfield, 1975.

Westline, J. G. Enrollments in Oregon's Public and Independent Colleges and Universities: Actual and Projected Enrollments: 1966 Through 1984. Salem, Oregon, Educational Coordinating Council, 1974.

Coordinating Board, Texas College and University System. CB Report, December 1974, 9 (12), 3.

Although the enrollments in the Directory include postsecondary institutions classified as community colleges, technical and vocational institutes, two-year branches of four-year colleges and universities and others, no attempt has been made in this discussion to separate them. Consequently, the terms community colleges, two-year colleges and two-year postsecondary institutions are used interchangeably. Generally, when a state college system or a college is singled out for a closer look at the enrollment situation it will almost always involve the community colleges. The discussion will concentrate almost exclusively on publicly supported institutions that "are organized on a two-year basis, have state recognition and/or regional accreditation and offer two-year associate degree programs (Gleazer, 1975, p. 1).

Enrollment comparisons are made on the assumption that the statistics are comparable, an assumption that is not as valid as one would wish. In fact, the unit of measurement differs among two-year colleges within a state, and between the two-year colleges and the other segments of higher education and public schools. Consequently, one student in 1972 may differ from one student in 1974.

Linear comparability weakens as the number of years increases. Besides changes in the meaning of student, the census date or time of counting varies, institutions are transferred from one segment to another and educational functions are absorbed or usurped. Other "errors in the data may result from misunderstanding the definitions, from issuing estimates rather than reporting actual enrollment, or from record-keeping procedures which are not consonant with the specific annual request for enrollment data" (Connor, 1972, p. 6).

Another troublesome problem, especially when comparing national trends, is the large number of institutions for which enrollments are not available. Since 1971 this number has increased from two or three to 171 in 1973 and 155 in 1974 (American Association of Community and Junior Colleges, 1975, p. 94). These represent about 16 percent of the 981 public colleges listed. How many of the institutions did not complete the request for information because they were no longer two-year institutions or had ceased operation or did not care to do so is not known.

Some distortion may be deliberate. When the number of students and the rate of increase from the previous year are high the tendency is toward accuracy; when both indexes are on the downside numerous stratagems are employed to enhance the totals. Indeed, there is some concern raised about the reliability of some figures, since "data...are easily manipulated" (Alfred, 1974, p. 3). However, taking all of these factors into account and even considering typographical errors which are usually corrected, Connor believes "that the data are reasonably accurate and that such errors as may exist are randomly distributed" (1972, p. 6).

This paper will focus on enrollment in the 1970's, the source of the new students and the prospects for the future. Are the numbers a blessing or a curse? Has the incorporation of so many produced a uniquely higher education

institution or has it destroyed the intellectual basis of two-year higher education?

In the sections that follow, attention will be directed toward the various factors that influence enrollments in two-year colleges. The first section will start with population and its primary effects. The second will deal with economic, political and social causes followed by sections on the effect of proximity, low cost, reclassification of institutions, transfer or usurpation of functions from other segments, stratagems or artifices, the part-time phenomenon, and a summary and conclusion.

The Turnabout in the Middle 1970's

After a few years of stable or lower growth, enrollments are pointing upward again. Instead of the single-digit increases of 1971 and 1972, those for 1973 and 1974 are matching the double-digit inflation figures of the 1960's. In 1973, overall enrollment increased by more than 10 percent, with individual states and colleges exceeding even the high rates of the 1960's. Forty-four states had enrollment increases ranging from a small percent to almost 200 percent in Nevada. Among the seven states with enrollments exceeding 100,000, the percentage increases varied from 12 for Illinois, about 10 for Florida, Michigan and Texas, 7 for California, 5 for New York, and 3 for Washington (American Association of Community and Junior Colleges, 1974b, p. 88).

Within a state, Illinois for example, wide variations existed. Of the 47 colleges, 37 had increases. Oakton Community College led by a wide margin with a 263 percent increase. Others had increases measured in the 30 to almost 50 percent range (Illinois Community College Board, Feb. 1974, p. 4). The unusually high Illinois growth rates reflected the inclusion for the first time of large numbers of students in general studies and participants in community education offerings. Including these "students" the Illinois increase was 21 percent (Illinois Community College Board, 1975). Few colleges in other states matched these high Illinois growth rates (Illinois Community College Board, Feb. 1974, p. 4). Nationally, 1974 was even better with a rise of 12.6 percent over 1973 (Drake, 1975, p. 2).

This turnabout is understandably highlighted by educators, state officials, and professional organization leaders. It is in sharp contrast to the enrollment decline in the elementary and secondary school and the lower enrollment increase in the four-year colleges and universities. Again, the two-year college seems to be unique in maintaining its status as the fastest growing segment of education, albeit not as solidly based as was the growth in the 1950's and 1960's.

Amidst this rejoicing there is some reason for concern, since a few states and a large number of colleges are not participating in this upward enrollment trend. In 1973, six states, the District of Columbia and 26 percent of the colleges reported a decline in enrollment. Total enrollment in the District of Columbia, Idaho, Mississippi, Nebraska, South Dakota, Wisconsin and Wyoming declined by more than 3 percent (Gleazer, 1973-1974; American Association of Community and Junior Colleges, 1974b, p. 88). As a group, the six New England states showed no recovery from the reduced growth rate of 7 percent in 1971, far below the 1965 to 1970 yearly average increase of 26 percent (New England Board of Higher Education, 1974, p. 38). In Illinois, where the grand total headcount increased by more than 20 percent in 1973 over 1972, ten colleges lost from 2.5 percent to 55 percent. In the Chicago system of eight colleges, including the Urban Skills Institute, total enrollment went up 48 percent, but Malcolm X's enrollment dropped 36 percent. The same variations are found in most states (Illinois Community College Board, Feb. 1974, p. 4).

Generally, doubts about the enrollment resurgence are subdued. Educators concentrate on the causes of the upturn in the enrollment curve in order to map plans for maintaining or enhancing their good fortune. Over some of the causes--demographic phenomena and college-going mores, for example--they have little control. But there are many over which they can exert a great deal of influence--recruiting and admission policies, scholarship standards, teaching and learning reforms and the like.

Population

Population trends play a major role in the high enrollments in the two-year colleges. But, unlike the elementary and high schools whose enrollment

is almost directly related in a one-to-one relationship with population, the relationship in the two-year colleges is not so close. Two-year college educators have considerable flexibility in tapping the entire range of the population beyond the age of 17 or 18, while public school educators have much less flexibility with the fixed age limits assigned to them.

Likewise, four-year colleges and universities have less opportunity to draw on other than high school graduates for their students and, except in the vocational-technical program area, they cannot deviate too far from their collegiate-type programs leading to the baccalaureate and higher degrees. In addition to flexibility in student age range, two-year colleges have much more freedom, in fact, much more encouragement to engage in the lower-than-college level courses and programs that meet the needs of the new students (Westline, 1974, p. 12). At their best they have maintained "the capacity to stimulate social change through [their] willingness to adapt educational programs and institutional structure to emerging social needs" (Alfred, 1973, p. 1).

All projections of enrollment start out with population. Total numbers, births, age groups, marriages, sex distribution are studied to determine their probable effects on present and future enrollments. But the use of such projections vary with the times. In the period of the population explosion educators concentrated on opening new colleges or adding new facilities to existing colleges, developing educational programs, staffing, financing, and other activities to take care of students. Today with declining rates of population growth educators "utilize the projection to generate activity that can cause events to occur that are contrary to the projections" (Suddarth and Others, 1974, p. 1). In other words, rather than accept the inevitability of declining enrollments that normally accompany the declining rate of population growth, they are adopting new recruiting methods and developing a variety of new educational reforms to attract other age groups to make up for the loss of 18-22 year olds. Before discussing this activity a brief review of population trends and their effects on enrollment is in order.

The population increase since 1940 has had a primary impact on enrollments in all segments of education. As the population rose from 132 million in 1940 to 213 million on January 1, 1975 for a gain of 61 percent, so did enrollments, but at a much higher rate.

TABLE II

Population and Registered Births in the United States, 1935-1939 to 1970-1974

Five-Year Intervals	Population		Births		18 Years Later
	Average Population Per Year - Millions	Percent Increase	Average Number of Births Per Year-Thousands	Percent Increase	
1935-1939	128.9	--	2211	--	1953-1957
1940-1944	134.0	4.0	2682	4.7	1958-1962
1945-1949	142.8	6.6	3368	3.2	1963-1967
1950-1954	156.6	9.7	3839	14	1968-1972
1955-1959	171.1	9.3	4235	10	1973-1977
1960-1964	185.6	8.5	4164	-1.2	1978-1982
1965-1969	197.5	6.4	3592	-14	1983-1987
1970-1974	207.9	5.3	3387	-5.7	1989-1992
1975	213.2				

Sources:

Suddarth, M., and Others. Enrollment Projections for Indiana Postsecondary Education 1974-1990. Prepared for the Indian Commission of Higher Education by the New York Management Division of the Academy for Educational Development, Inc., 1974, pp. 9, 10.

"Nation's Population Put at 213.2 Million." Los Angeles Times, January 1, 1975. Part I, p. 32.

In each five-year period 1940-1944 to 1970-1974 population growth rose; by 4.7 percent during 1940-1944, 6.6 percent during 1945-1949; stayed just below 10 plus percent during the next ten years and then declined in each of the next three periods to 5.3 percent during 1970-1974. On January 1, 1975 the 213.2 million population represented only a .7 percent increase over 1974. Although the population increased each year, the number of births started to decline in 1958 and has been on a downward trend ever since. In 1974 the number was 3.2 million, more than one million lower than 4.3 million high recorded in 1957 and the lowest since 1945's 2.7 million.

Part of the continued rise in two-year college enrollments may be explained by the increase in the 18 to 22 year group. As shown in the last column of Table II, babies born in the peak birth years 1955-1959 become

18 to 22 year-olds during the 1973-1977 period. Beginning in 1978 the numbers in this group will decline, moderately until 1982 but more precipitously during the following years. However, the number of 18-22 year-olds will continue to exceed those of any year prior to 1964. In 1970 there were more than 17 million; by 1980 there will be about 19 million (Peck and Lincicum, 1974, p. 2).

If we consider that the 18-22 year-olds constitute the largest percentage of freshmen students and over 90 percent of the full-time students (The American Freshman...1973, p. 19), their importance to the two-year colleges becomes patent, despite the drop of college-going among high school graduates.

Two-year colleges are countering the decline in the rate of growth among 18-22 year-olds by catering to the older age groups that are rising at a faster pace than the 18-22 year-olds. They are attracting large numbers by a variety of changes. In large measure this group has accounted for most of the enrollment increase of 1973-1974. Recognition of the group's importance to the two-year colleges is evident in the recruiting efforts, curriculum changes, growth of outpost centers, and establishment of child-care centers on campus. The older students, predominately part-timers, have raised the average of age of all students to around 28 years. An expanded definition of student is being formulated and, at the same time, funding of adult education is being liberalized (Westline, 1974, p. 12).

The enlargement of the potential pool of students to include the entire population over 17 years of age may enable the two-year colleges to duplicate the 1960-1970 enrollment surge. Wattenbarger and associates projected enrollments of 4, 7, 9 and 12 million students based on a ratio of 20, 30, 40, and 50 per 1,000 population respectively (1970, p. 45).

Within the population groups other trends besides age influence enrollments. On the negative side is the rate of college-going among high school graduates which from a high of 55 percent in 1968 declined to 49 percent in 1972. The effect of this declining rate of college-going on two-year college enrollment is mitigated somewhat by the fact that the number of high school graduates is estimated to remain above 49 million until 1977, the same as in 1966 (Simon and Frankel, 1973, p. 167). As long as the pool gets smaller,

enrollments will suffer unless another upward change takes place in the college-going rate.

A favorable development is the higher percentage of women that are now going to college. According to a census report, for both the 18-19 year-olds and the 20-21 year-olds, the rate of college attendance among women has risen almost uninterruptedly from 1962 to 1972 when it began to level off. For the 18-19 year-olds the rise was from 26.1 percent to 34.3 percent and for the 20-21 year-olds from 14.8 percent in 1962, 44.7 percent in 1969 and 37.6 percent in 1972, and still on a downtrend. The roles for those 20-21 year-olds followed a similar course ("Proportion...," 1973). Another very favorable development is the higher proportion of first-time college students enrolled in two-year colleges.

From this brief review it is evident that the population characteristics are having various effects on enrollment in two-year colleges. For a time in 1971 and 1972 the situation seemed gloomy as enrollment growth rates descended from the 10 to 25 percent range. The upturn in 1973 has given educators a lift. However, it is too early to predict a resurgence of enrollment growth comparable to that of the 1960's.

Population alone provides no hope for a march to a new golden age. No matter what rationalizations are used to minimize the demographic factors of lower growth rates for population, births, marriages and the higher proportion of older people, they remain like a pall over the colleges. Daily reminders of elementary school closings and lower high school enrollments cannot help but dampen the optimism of two-year college educators. Zero population growth, if not already approached, is not too far away. Eventually, some two-year colleges will succumb as have public schools. A few are experiencing serious enrollment declines. Just as the rising birthrate that began in 1940 contributed to the large enrollment increases of the 1960's, reaching a peak in 1965 when enrollment increased by 24 percent over 1964 (Drake, 1975, p. 2), so conversely, the decline of births since 1957 "represents the major force in determining... future postsecondary enrollment levels...." (Minnesota Higher Education Coordinating Commission, 1974, p. 4). The decline in marriages and the increase in divorces, if continued, will accelerate the approach of zero population growth. The U.S. Census Bureau in

a report "Marital Status and Living Arrangements" noted "a trend among young men and women to remain single for a longer period of time than in the past" (Shaffer, 1975).

Also significant for future enrollment trends is that since 1960 births declined by 30 percent while the number of women reaching childbearing age (20) increased by more than 65 percent. From now on the number of 20-year-old women will decrease in parallel with the number of births. According to the National Center for Health Statistics in 1974, marriages declined in number and rate for the first time since 1958 ("U.S. Marriages Decline," 1975). The population statistics are not auspicious for the future. Had two-year colleges continued to depend heavily on high school graduates and 18-22 year-olds, their enrollment growth rate would not have differed materially from that of four-year colleges and universities.

Paradoxically, population growth, though basic to the two-year college enrollment growth of the 1960's does not wholly account for its phenomenal characteristics. Despite population increases, enrollment growth in the two-year colleges in some communities in a state did not parallel the upward population curve. Indeed, quite a few states did not establish two-year colleges until the late 1960's and early 1970's. In Indiana, for example, two-year comprehensive colleges are few and their growth has been stunted deliberately. Even in California, Florida, Illinois and New York, college-going was and continues to be affected by such factors as race, ethnicity, and socioeconomic status.

In this section a variety of non-demographic factors that influence enrollment in most states will be discussed. Emphasis will be on those factors, internal and external to the colleges, that relate to growth patterns.

Boom and Bust

The state of the economy, like the population upsurge, provided a climate in which education could flourish. The prosperity induced by World War II was only temporarily halted by the end of the war and, contrary to expectations based on previous experience during post-war periods, the economy did not collapse. Instead it experienced one of the most sustained periods of prosperity in American history. Public education, particularly the two-year colleges,

shared in this prosperity through generous appropriations from local, state and federal agencies.

Ordinarily, a recession has a favorable effect on enrollments. The unemployed and high school graduates with poor job prospects tend to enroll in two-year colleges in greater numbers than usual. Others who had planned to enter a four-year college or university switch to the less expensive two-year college. The 1973-1975 recession with its high unemployment rate has been no exception as President Gleazer of the AACJC (American Association of Community and Junior Colleges, Feb. 1975), Chancellor Brossman of the California Community College system (Peralta Colleges Bulletin, 1974) and others have pointed out. Part of the unexpected increase of Fall 1974 enrollment is attributed to high unemployment.

The 1974-1975 recession, especially if it continues much longer, may also have unfavorable effects on enrollments. Dire predictions are common during budget preparation time but those in early 1975 are more strident and pessimistic than they have been in more than a decade. This year there is cause for pessimism since the consensus is that "higher education appropriations [are] seen sure to suffer" (Magarell, 1975, p. 1).

Governor Thomas P. Salmon of Vermont set the tone in his annual budget message to the legislature, saying: "In 1973 the theme was austerity. In 1974 it was severity. In 1975 it is survival" (Magarell, 1975, p. 1). For many states the budget may be about the same as for 1974-1975 in current dollars that do not compensate for inflation; in constant dollars such an appropriation represents a cut of 10-15 percent. In others there may be actual current dollar cuts. For example, the 1973-1974 Florida budget for two-year colleges was $121 million; for 1974-1975 it was originally $145 million but because of the financial squeeze it was cut to $141 million. The prospects for 1975-1976 are even more gloomy since the Legislature is considering appropriations at almost the 1973-1974 level, something in the neighborhood of $130 million. The colleges are asking for $182 million based on an anticipated FTE enrollment of 160,000. If the Legislature goes through with the drastic cut, many students will be unable to enroll ("Open Door May Close...," 1975). Other governors are recommending very small increases; 3 percent in New Jersey; one-third of one percent in North Carolina.

The New York State financial situation is in a bad way, while New York City's is critical since the city has difficulty floating bonds except at high interest rates.

To compound their financial problems states and colleges may not get very much help from the federal government, which has financial problems of its own. A prolonged recession with high unemployment will also have an adverse effect on enrollment since many high school graduates from very low income families will not be able to meet even the low costs of two-year colleges. The tight budgets will force "colleges to put strict limits on enrollments and eliminate some courses now being offered" (Florida Association of Community Colleges, 1975) since colleges will not have money for staff to take care of increased enrollments unless the faculty are willing to increase productivity in the conventional classrooms and/or utilize media, television or other learning devices that do not need as many instructors as the classroom method. On the credit side there are still a few states, e.g., Delaware, Iowa, Minnesota, and Texas with adequate resources to accommodate the extra students that are expected to enroll in 1975 as a result of unemployment and the recession, as well as other factors (Magarell, 1975).

Why the Community College?

State and federal goals to extend universal education to the first two years of college were potent forces in the rise of two-year colleges. To achieve this objective two-year colleges were encouraged to maintain an open door policy (usually not even requiring high school graduation) and to impose only small charges for tuition and fees. To prevent or make difficult encroachment on the two-year colleges, states insisted that senior institutions be selective in admission, keep to a minimum the below-college-level and two-year occupational courses, as well as charge higher tuition and fees.

The establishment of these colleges did not happen automatically. They came into being because individuals and groups carried on campaigns to get support from community leaders; legislation authorizing the colleges; and most importantly, funds, sometimes from private sources, but mostly from the various government agencies, in particular, the local communities in the form of property taxes. In the forefront of this drive were college educators and

leaders of the professional associations, the American Association of Community and Junior Colleges and regional and state associations, who marshalled the private and public forces for the establishment of colleges.

It is somewhat amusing today to hear so much about the need for borrowing the techniques of marketing and selling used by business and industry (Gleazer, 1973-1974). In light of the success of the educational leaders in establishing such a far-flung conglomerate of colleges one wonders who should be the teachers and who the disciples. A little book, 50 States/50 Years, published in 1969 by the American Association of Junior Colleges, contains 20 capsules of techniques used for marketing and selling the two-year colleges to states and communities that probably have more credibility than those business and industry can provide during this period of bankruptcies and near bankruptcies (Yarrington, 1969). It is hardly likely that two-year college educators will soon suffer the fate of "motion pictures, the petroleum industry, dry cleaning, electrical utilities and grocery stores," assuming that the fate of all these industries is as serious as portrayed (Gleazer, 1973-1974, p. 7).

The major part of the enrollment growth flowed directly from the addition of new colleges to existing systems and the establishment of new state systems making a two-year education available to a large proportion of the population. By law every area in such states as California, Florida, Illinois, Iowa, Nebraska, and Washington are or must become a part of a two-year college or postsecondary school district. The goal in most states is to have a two-year college or postsecondary school within commuting distance of 90 to 95 percent of the people. By 1974 the goal was achieved or was close to being achieved in California, Florida, Hawaii, Illinois, Iowa, New York, Washington, and several other states.

State funding patterns encouraged the spread of two-year colleges by generous aid, usually more than to state colleges and universities. Nationwide, two-year college funding increased from 6.2 percent in 1963 to 15.5 percent in 1973 while the proportion for the senior institutions dropped from 39 percent to 33 percent during the same period (Glenny, 1974-1975, p. 26). And, to prevent the prestigious universities from expanding at the expense of the two-year (and other public and private) colleges state legislators fixed ceilings on their enrollments (Millett, 1974, p. 68).

The motives for priority funding for two-year colleges are mixed. But basic to this high priority is that they occupy the same role economically, politically, and socially as the elementary schools did during the 1900's when immigrants formed a large percentage of the population. There is an additional correlation with earlier times. Then the country favored eliminating child labor; since 1950, concern has been over the social and economic disabilities of minorities and disadvantaged youth. The ability to operate with a much smaller proportion of the population in the work force than formerly also explains in part the interest of the state and federal governments in the two-year institutions.

Low operating cost and open access are two other factors in favor of community colleges. A few university educators question the claim of lower cost, insisting that their lower-division costs are comparable to or lower than those of the community colleges. By pointing to large classes and the use of teaching assistants, they sometimes make a strong case. But legislators are not impressed by such claims. On open access, there is no disagreement. In fact, many university educators welcome community colleges because it makes it possible for them to continue selective admissions. In a few states, however, university educators continue to oppose the establishment of community colleges, fearing that adequate state funds will become more difficult to obtain if they have to share them. If the two-year colleges continue to attract a larger proportion of the first-time-in-college students the number in this group may be augmented and their opposition may intensify.

Locally, communities--especially those that are not large enough to support a four-year college or university--go to great pains and expense to establish a two-year college, probably for pride, economics, and to keep their youth from emigrating to the cities (Lombardi, 1973).

Consistently, enrollments have increased directly with the number of colleges established in consonance with most studies of college-going patterns that place proximity to college close to the top as an inducement. Availability and proximity make it possible for large numbers of middle and low income people who are not able to afford the costs involved in living away from home to attend the local two-year college.

In addition to the usual campuses with a full complement of buildings and services, community colleges are establishing outposts or satellite mini-campuses in stores, churches, prisons, retirement centers, libraries, hospitals, supermarkets, public school buildings; in fact, any place that can accommodate ten or more students. These outposts attract older people and many of the traditional college-age people who may be unable to get to a campus or who find the campus environment foreign or forbidding. The huge 900 square mile Los Angeles Community College District "is serving 16,505 students in 522 classes at the 145 locations" in its Outreach Program, (Los Angeles Community College District, 1974, p. 3), while a small rural college in Southern Appalachia offers continuing education programs in 40 to 50 locations each term (Cottingham and Cooper, 1975). By design or by necessity, Austin Community College in Texas, Whatcom Community College in Washington (Lombardi, 1973) and the Vermont Community College system conduct all of their education in such centers rather than on fixed campus sites (Parker and Vecchitto, 1974). The movement toward such outreach programs continues to spread across the country.

Since campuses and outreach centers make classes readily available, the college-without-walls movement has made very limited progress among the two-year colleges. Interest in instructional television crops up from time to time, causes a flurry and then recedes. In recent years a few colleges, through their own broadcasting stations or through public and commercial stations, have offered courses individually or in concert (Lombardi, 1974a). These efforts, a minor supplement to the outpost centers, have had minimal effect on enrollment.

Equally effective as a factor in choice of college is low tuition and fees. Although tuition and fees have risen in all institutions of higher education, states tend to establish lower maximum limits for two-year colleges than for state colleges and universities on the assumption that lower tuition and fees will divert prospective students to these colleges, an assumption supported by the Commission on the Financing of Postsecondary Education's conclusion that every $100 increase in public four-year college tuition will reduce enrollment by 2.5 percent and more dramatically by the decline of the enrollments in the private/independent junior colleges (Leslie and Johnson, 1974, p. 28).

The effect of low cost on the private or independent two-year colleges has been devastating. More than any other sector of education, they have suffered from the competition of no- or low-tuition community colleges that have been lavishly supported by local, state, and federal funds. Here are the forgotten institutions of modern times. Much has been written on the importance of rescuing private higher (university) education and elementary and secondary schools but very little concern has been expressed for the survival of the private junior colleges. The disappearance of more than 100 colleges in the past twenty-five years has not caused a ripple, so entranced has the public been with the spectacular increase in community colleges. The dramatic rise of these schools, with its focus on the goal of universal higher education and low cost, has so completely overshadowed the private colleges that most people hardly know of their existence (Lombardi, 1973).

Look at the figures. In 1948, the 328 private/independent colleges exceeded the public colleges by four. Yet by 1974, the respective numbers were 209 private and 975 public. Enrollment in the public colleges rose from 25 percent of the total in 1915 to approximately 96 percent in 1974; 111,000 private college students versus 3.37 million public college students. The situation for many of the survivors is desperate, living as they do within the cold shadow of the publicly supported colleges (Connor, 1972, p. 6; American Association of Community and Junior Colleges, 1975, pp. 92, 93). It is understood that no one cause accounts for the unfortunate plight of the private/independent two-year colleges; but the connection between the appearance of the two-year public colleges and the disappearance of so many private/independent colleges seems more than a coincidence.

From a numbers point of view student attrition from the private two-year colleges did not contribute a great many to the public two-year colleges. How many of the millions of two-year college students might have enrolled in the private institutions had there been no public two-year colleges is not known, but it is reasonable to assume that many of them might have, in particular those from the group of more than 100,000 (or 17 percent) full-time students whose parental income in the Fall of 1973 was $25,000 (The American Freshman...1973, p. 42).

The two-year colleges probably have made greater inroads on the enrollments of senior institutions. Here again low costs plus lower entrance requirements account for the higher percentage of first-time-in-college students going to the two-year colleges. True, some senior institution educators encouraged the less capable high school graduates to enroll in the two-year colleges, but since 1969 they have not been so eager in this regard. Now with their enrollments turning down they are recruiting less selectively. However, these efforts do not overcome the advantages of low cost and accessibility. As tuition in private four-year colleges and universities keeps getting higher--up to $4,000 in some--a large number of potential students will be priced out of these institutions. Some of them will attend the public senior institutions and others will gravitate toward the two-year colleges. A larger proportion may be expected to do so if the recession should deepen and stretch out to 1976 or later.

Financial aid to students has aided enrollment in nearly all colleges. State and federal aid, guaranteed and subsidized loans, and work-study grants help many young people to enter and stay in college. An important aspect of financial aid is that most of it is based on need rather than scholastic ability or excellence (Lombardi, 1973). In recent years the amount of state aid has risen significantly. Forty-five states in 1975 have student-assistance programs compared with 22 in 1970 and 12 in 1964 (Winkler, 1974).

With the new emphasis on need, financial aid has been particularly helpful in enabling a large number of people to enroll in the two-year colleges. The largest group of beneficiaries are the veterans and the dependents of veterans, who receive more generous grants under the G.I. Bill than other students under any other grants. Moreover, they are not precluded from applying for other assistance. The full effect of the G.I. Bill on enrollment of Vietnam veterans has been felt in the 1973 and 1974 enrollments. For the 1974 fiscal year, 2.3 billion dollars was appropriated for veterans' education and training and for 1975 President Ford's budget includes 2.7 billion dollars, (about one billion dollars is for two-year college students). With special financial incentives from Congress as well as their own need for students, colleges have undertaken special recruitment efforts for Vietnam veterans, who as a result, comprised a large percentage of the Fall 1973 and

1974 enrollment of many colleges. In California 127,000 veterans represented 13.4 percent (with a range of 6.0-26.1) of the total enrollment in 65 of 69 districts reporting in Fall 1973. Veterans also contribute to the effective FTE enrollments since 52.9 percent are full-time students compared with 33 percent for the non-veterans (Analytical Unit, 1974).

A second large group of beneficiaries are the poor, disadvantaged, and minorities. As for the veterans, but not on so generous a scale, special appropriations for their aid are made by state legislatures and Congress. Colleges are also given extra subsidies as incentives to recruit students in this category. More than 30,000 Illinois students received a total of $2,124,000 from state and local funds (Illinois Community College Board, Sept. 1974).

Aid for the students from middle income families is substantial in the aggregate but it is inadequate when the large number who need it is taken into account. Students from this group who need aid must obtain it from home or work. Otherwise, they drop out. The situation may change if the pressure mounts for greater aid for this group.

Proximity, low cost and financial aid go a long way in explaining why 95 percent or more of the two-year college students attend colleges in their own home states (Simon and Grant, 1972, p. 8). According to State Chancellor Brossman, accessibility of the 100 colleges in California and low cost were two of the important factors accounting for the large enrollment topping one million for the first time in 1973. Another 100,000 were enrolled in the Fall of 1974. He also noted that the tightened economy is responsible for "steering many more [students] toward community colleges" (Peralta Colleges Bulletin, 1974, p. 8).

Nationally the proportion of college-credit students in the two-year colleges has climbed steadily. In 1972 the two-year colleges enrolled 36.1 percent of all students in public higher education; 1973, 37.5 percent; and in 1974, 39.7 percent. If the upper division and graduate students were excluded, the proportion in the two-year colleges would approach 50 percent ("Opening Fall Enrollments...," 1974).

The New Majority--Part-Time Students

Among the many factors that have enabled the two-year colleges to recover from the slump of 1971 and 1972, the increase of part-time students ranks high. While the part-time student phenomenon is characteristic of all postsecondary institutions it is most pronounced in the two-year colleges where, since 1969, the percentage of part-time students has risen from 49.4 to 56.0 in 1973.

TABLE III

Full-Time and Part-Time Enrollments
Fall 1969 - 1973

Fall	Full-Time (Thousands)	Part-Time (Thousands)	Percent of Part-Time
1969	1,062	1,038	49.4
1970	1,172	1,135	49.2
1971	1,276	1,271	49.9
1972	1,281	1,446	53.0
1973	1,297	1,670	56.3

Sources:

1970 Junior College Directory, p. 81;
1971 Junior College Directory, p. 89;
1972 Junior College Directory, p. 91;
1973 Community and Junior College Directory, p. 87;
1974 Community and Junior College Directory, p. 88;
1975 Community Junior and Technical College Directory, p. 92

If the state releases on enrollments rather than the AACJC reports were used the percentage of part-time students would be considerably higher since, in their reports to the AACJC, colleges do not usually include non-credit students enrolled in occupational, developmental and community institutional services categories. For example, for Florida the 1975 Community Junior and Technical College Directory (p. 92) reports for 1973 64,000 part-time students or 48.5 percent of the 133,000 total enrollment while the state reports 124,000 or 64 percent of 195,000 total enrollment (Florida Department of

Education, 1974). Similarly, the comparable figures for New Jersey are 52.1 percent part-time in the Directory and 68 percent in the state report (State of New Jersey, Department of Higher Education, 1974, p. 40).

Even without these corrections the national trend toward the part-time nature of enrollments is unmistakable. In 1969 part-time enrollment exceeded the full-time enrollment in 11 states; in 1972, in 18 states; in 1973, in 26 states. For 1973, the 26 states included 15 of the 20 states with the largest enrollment. Exceptions among states with very large enrollments were New York with 129,000 full-time and 104,000 part-time, Florida with 68,000 full-time and 64,000 part-time, and North Carolina with 36,063 full-time and 29,967 part-time.

TABLE IV

Full-Time and Part-Time Enrollments
20 States With Enrollments of More Than 29,000
Fall 1973

A. States with Part-Time Enrollments Exceeding 50 Percent

	Full-Time	Part-Time	Percent Part-Time
Arizona	20,111	48,695	70.9
California	307,775	548,625	64.1
Illinois	73,463	133,889	64.6
Maryland	24,033	60,918	71.7
Michigan	48,759	147,626	75.2
Missouri	18,084	23,159	56.2
New Jersey	30,298	32,891	52.1
Ohio	38,111	44,665	54.0
Oregon	23,578	48,883	67.4
Pennsylvania	26,187	29,618	53.1
Texas	77,141	83,765	52.1
Virginia	24,523	30,285	55.3
Washington	46,876	56,896	54.8
Wisconsin	27,115	64,369	70.4

B. States with Full-Time Enrollments Exceeding 50 Percent

	Full-Time	Part-Time	Percent Part-Time
Alabama	17,987	12,992	41.9
Connecticut	14,702	14,387	49.5
Florida	68,253	64,283	48.5
Massachusetts	25,029	8,308	24.9
New York	129,188	103,608	45.5
North Carolina	36,063	29,967	45.4

Source: 1975 Community, Junior, and Technical College Directory, p. 92

The estimates for 1974 Fall enrollment are that full-time enrollment was up in 63% of the colleges, down in 28%; part-time was up in 65% of the colleges, down in 16%. The percentages for the colleges with the same full-time and part-time enrollment were up in 9 and down in 19 ("Enrollment Rose 4 Pct. This Fall...," 1974).

A decline in the enrollment of 18 and 19 year-olds who normally have been full-time students, and the increasing number of those who combine work and study, have been major contributors to the increasing proportion of part-time over full-time students. From more than 54 percent of 18 and 19 year-olds attending college in 1969, the percentage dropped to 48 in 1970 and to 43 in 1973 (Peck and Lancicum, 1974, p. 7).

Of particular significance to the part-time student phenomenon is the increasing number of women on the college rolls. As shown in Table V female two-year college students are increasing at a more rapid rate than male students and the ratio of part-time to full-time women is also going up. In 1973, the number of female students increased by 12.8 percent over 1972 and in 1974 by 15.1 percent over 1973. Comparable percentage increases for men were 7.5 percent and 10.3 percent. The ratio of women to men rose from 77.5 in 1972 to 81.3 in 1973 and 85.0 in 1974. The ratio of part-time to full-time female students went up from 1.35 in 1972 to 1.57 in 1974.

TABLE V

Selected Characteristics of Female Two-Year College Students

Year	Part-Time Women Students	Full-Time Women Students	Ratio Part-Time to Full-Time
1972	635,364	479,400	1.35
1973	732,914	525,072	1.40
1974	884,588	563,714	1.57

Source: "Opening Fall Enrollments in 1972, 1973, and 1974." Chronicle of Higher Education, December 16, 1974, 9 (13), p. 8.

Another group that contributed to the part-time enrollments during the 1970's is composed of older and senior citizens who attend public service courses and activities and the less-than-college courses. Many of these people have been spectators or participants in college activities for a

long time but they were not counted as students until near the beginning of the 1970's when a new or broadened definition of enrollments in postsecondary education was adopted (Minnesota Higher Education Coordinating Commission, December 1974). In 1970 those over 65 comprised 13.9 percent of the population, up from 11.4 percent in 1960; they are increasing at a faster rate than any other age group (Johnson, 1972).

Off-campus learning units, week-end colleges, senior citizen institutes or emeriti colleges, and expanded campus and evening divisions are the organizational strategies that help augment the rolls with part-time students. So important are the part-time students to the welfare and survival of the colleges that they are receiving unusual attention not only at recruiting time but also during and after their enrollment, which in some colleges may take place at any time (Polk and Hendricks, 1975). More counseling, greater financial and placement aid, better services such as food, recreation, library, and lounge facilities, and extra-curricular activities are being provided. Administrative services are increasing as administrators are redeployed to serve in the evening hours. Courses and programs are being redesigned and new ones, many in smaller packages, are developed to more adequately meet the needs of the part-timers. To take care of students' children, childcare centers are sprouting on many campuses. Tuition for senior citizens is either reduced or waived.

Part-time students are the new majority on the two-year campuses. Practically every state enrollment report comments on this new phenomenon--the part-time student syndrome of postsecondary education. By 1980 they will represent two-thirds of the student body in at least half the states; already, in 1973, they represented over 70 percent of the enrollment in Arizona, Maryland, Michigan and Wisconsin. When the new definition of students is accepted by those states that have not yet done so, or when non-credit students are included in the enrollment statistics by all colleges, the national figures for part-time students will be truly phenomenal. The total may very well approach the 11 to 12 million projected by Wattenbarger (1970).

Reclassification or Transfer of Institutions and Functions

Engrossment with the phenomenal enrollment growth of the two-year colleges has obscured the fact that this growth has resulted not only from the people who did not formerly go to college, but by the addition of students from other segments of education, particularly vocational-technical, adult, and special schools, urban skill centers, and branches of senior colleges and universities, and in recent years of large numbers of people who are not, in the traditional definition, students. This latter group comprises individuals who attend a series of activities that may or may not be related to each other, that do not entail the strict procedures of admission and enrollment, and that hardly ever require any form of accountability of learning progress. In fact, it may be said that much of the increase in enrollment that comes from these developments does not constitute a true net increase of students in educational institutions; it represents a transfer of students from one segment of education to another or results from the redefinition of student. These phenomena do not flow in one direction; there is a constant ebb and flow. However, on balance the two-year colleges have added more institutions and more students from them than they have lost. It will become evident in the discussion that follows that the accretion of new categories of institutions and the acceptance of the new definition of student will produce a transformation of the two-year colleges. If these changes persist, the two-year colleges will become community-education centers, one of the long-term goals of the leaders of the movement. Whether or not they remain institutions of higher education is moot.

Transfers of institutions from one segment to another, common in all segments of education, have been quite prevalent in the two-year sector. As a result of this interchange, the classification of schools, colleges and universities for statistical purposes is not as clear-cut as the enrollments presented for the various institutions would imply. Sometimes the transfer of an institution from one category to another is made arbitrarily by a governing board or a statistical gathering agency. At other times financial exigency is the cause. Often it is made on rational grounds--either because of age group attending or educational programs offered.

As the Carnegie Commission technical report, A Classification of Institutions of Higher Education pointed out, "classification...does not remain fixed. New colleges enter the universe of institutions of higher education every year, and others go out of existence" (1973, p. v). But such changes for the two-year colleges are much more than small additions or deletions. They often involve whole systems or groups of institutions and they sometimes invoke spirited or bitter controversy.

Abetting this transfer is the American Association of Community and Junior Colleges, one of whose continuing objectives "is to encompass in membership, as fully as possible, all community-based postsecondary institutions" (American Association of Community and Junior Colleges, 1974a, p. 6). A comparable change is the conversion of teachers' colleges to four-year colleges and the more recent change of four-year colleges to university status.

Illustrative of the transfers to two-year college status are the following: 1) Frank Wiggins Trade School and the Metropolitan School of Business were transferred in 1947 from the Unified School District to the Junior College District by the Los Angeles Board of Education, a common governing board for both districts; 2) In 1965, four vocational-technical schools became the first colleges in the University of Hawaii Community College System; 3) In 1971, the Nebraska legislature created eight technical community college areas to operate "any state vocational-technical college, area vocational school or junior college in their respective areas" (Nebraska Legislature, 1971); 4) In Iowa, community colleges became area schools, thereby embracing all adult education programs (Iowa State Department of Public Instruction, 1975). A few transfers of private colleges to public two-year colleges have also taken place but these have been of minor importance in terms of students (Millet, 1974, p. 82).

Although not a transfer of institutions from one segment to another segment, enrollments in the two-year colleges have been augmented by reclassifying institutions for statistical purposes. More and more frequently agricultural, technical, vocational and adult schools are being included in the statistics of the American Association of Community and Junior Colleges and other statistical gathering agencies. In many states these institutions exist side by side with community colleges. So do two-year branches of senior

colleges that opt to be classified as community colleges, even though they maintain close liaison in governance and curriculum with the main campus. Within this group are the twenty-five campuses of eight Ohio universities that comprise more than half of the state's public two-year colleges with combined enrollments of close to 30,000 (American Association of Community and Junior Colleges, 1974b, pp. 56, 57). Others are found in Louisiana, New Mexico, South Carolina and Wisconsin. A reverse process took place in 1974 with the delisting of the two-year branch campuses of the Pennsylvania State University (Drake, 1975, p. 2).

Inroads on Functions of Other Segments

Significant impact on enrollment of the two-year schools has come and continues to come from the shift or usurpation of educational functions formerly performed by the high school or area vocational school. This process began early in the history of the community college movement. For example, despite the efforts of the early junior college leaders to delimit the occupational programs to those between the trade school levels and the full professional levels, educators expanded occupational programs by including the trades. Also, after 1945, they made great inroads in the adult education area. By the end of the 1960's, two-year college educators were creating a rationale now accepted in some states--Iowa, Nebraska, and Wisconsin--for exclusive jurisdiction over all public postsecondary education below the baccalaureate level.

Many transfers of functions take place at the request of or with the acquiescence of public and private agencies that find it beneficial--organizationally and financially--to divest themselves of part or all of their educational activities. These agencies include police, fire and recreational departments, hospitals, public and private agencies catering to retired people, the American Institute of Banking, supermarkets, churches and temples. Because of the doubtful legality of offering courses at public expense exclusively for special interest groups, the brochures announcing such courses usually mention that, "Students may register for off-campus classes at the location."

Transfer of functions is often encouraged by generous fundings by local, state, and federal jurisdictions. Special and higher differential funding of

programs for technical-vocational, the disadvantaged, minorities, illiterates, and the elderly provide powerful incentives for two-year college administrators to enter into these areas, so largely lower-than-college level. States often permit the lowering or remitting of tuition for these special students. Thus, those colleges in Virginia that permit students in Developmental Studies to enroll at any time in the quarter may pro-rate the tuition ("Virginia's 23 Community Colleges...," 1974). Common is the remission of tuition and fees for students over 65 years of age.

Title VIII of the National Defense Education Act of 1958 for the development of area vocational programs and the more general Vocational Education Act of 1963, made many two-year colleges eligible for federal funds by eliminating the restriction of the Smith-Hughes Act that occupational programs must be less than college grade. However, these acts were not as important for colleges in California and a few other states that retained their secondary school status and therefore were already eligible for federal aid for "less-than-college level" occupational programs.

The percentage of increase in the total enrollment of such changes in institutional reclassification and absorption of new educational functions is of considerable proportions even taking into account the inroads four-year colleges are making in the two-year area. It can have a pronounced effect, as is illustrated in Chicago with the addition of General Studies-Adult Education enrollment and the establishment of its eighth college, the Urban Skills Institute, whose enrollment is composed largely of students in manpower training programs, basic education, General Education Development (G.E.D.) preparation and regular high school classes, many of whom formerly attended classes in the adult education institutions of the local high school district (City Colleges of Chicago, Sept.-Oct. 1974). Enrollment for all colleges in the system doubled from 39,000 in 1970 to 78,000 in 1973 and went up another 13.4 percent to 88,000 in 1974. Adult Education-General Studies contributed almost 8 thousand in 1973 and approximately 12 thousand in 1974. The Urban Skills Institute added another 23 thousand in 1973 and 27 thousand in 1974. By contrast, the number of regular students in the original seven colleges increased by 1,500 or 3 percent over 1973. As is true for all colleges in Illinois, the Chicago system also reported 14,000 in 1973 and 27,500 in 1974 as participants in public service programs (Illinois Community College

Board, 1975, p. 15). [Enrollment of the Urban Skills Institute is not included in the AACJC Directories for 1974 or 1975].

For the state as a whole the addition of these new categories incorporated in the official statistics accounts for a large portion of the enrollment increases since 1969. In 1969 when the new categories of students were first reported they added 20,766 to the former total under the old classification, raising the percentage increase over 1968 from 22.6 to 42.7 percent (Illinois Community College Board, 1970). A later revision of enrollment reports raised the percentage increase to 49.7 percent (Illinois Community College Board, 1975, p. 6).

Table VI contains various statistics which show enrollment trends for Illinois since 1969. After the substantial increase in 1969, the steepest of any year since 1965, the rate of enrollment increase declined to 5.4 percent in 1972, then in 1973 it started up again as a result of a further liberalization in the funding and counting of students. In 1973 the increase was 21.4 percent and in 1974 18.8 percent. The FTE rate of increase also declined sharply from 23.7 percent in 1969 to 2.2 percent in 1972, before it resumed an upward climb of 5.1 percent in 1973 and 10.4 percent in 1974.

What stands out in the breakdown of the various categories of students making up total enrollments is the rise in General Studies students from 7,845 in 1968 to 78,269 in 1974. While most of these students or participants do not contribute a great many FTE's they serve two purposes: they help produce the large total enrollment figures and in time quite a number of them are recruited or voluntarily choose to enroll in credit courses thereby adding to the FTE or effective enrollment on the basis of which the largest state subsidies are awarded to the colleges.

An analysis of enrollments in the other states produce similar large numbers of students and enrollment increases. Headcount for Florida has hovered around the 200,000 mark since Fall 1970, up from 131,000 in 1969 (Florida Department of Education, 1972; 1973; 1974). Texas enrollment jumped from 187,000 in 1973 to 214,000 in 1974, for an increase of 14.7 percent, a rate more than double that for the state's public senior colleges and universities (Coordinating Board, Dec. 1974). Virginia's community colleges enrolled 68,000 students, a fourth more than in 1973 ("Virginia's 23

TABLE VI

FALL TERM STUDENT HEADCOUNT ENROLLMENT BY INSTRUCTIONAL PROGRAM AREA IN ILLINOIS PUBLIC COMMUNITY COLLEGES

	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974
Baccalaureate Oriented	49,747	57,087	69,751	77,423	67,460	85,077	95,531
Career/Occupational Oriented	23,448	31,509	42,703	47,405	53,831	67,466	72,629
General Studies	7,845	7,417	7,234	8,036	20,313	35,891	78,269
Other (Students with Undeclared Programs)*	8,491	37,988	37,496	42,995	43,724	36,518	20,750
Total	89,531	134,001	157,184	175,859	185,328	224,952	267,179
Headcount Percent Change		49.7	17.3	11.9	5.4	21.4	18.8
FTE Percent Change		23.7	18.0	12.3	2.2	5.1	10.4

*Students in Undeclared Instructional program areas are students who are enrolled in credit courses in the community colleges but who have not selected a definite curriculum which they want to pursue.

Source: Illinois Community College Board. Student Enrollment Data and Trends in the Public Community Colleges in Illinois: Fall 1974. Springfield, 1975, pp. 3, 6).

Community Colleges...," 1974). And so it went for colleges willing to seek the new students, to readjust their courses and programs and to establish numerous outreach centers.

Announcements by college presidents and by state board directors stress Headcount enrollments rather than FTE enrollments. They signify that henceforth emphasis will be on individuals who are serviced or touched by the two-year college experience. These large numbers and the rates of increase they produce are paraded before legislators and in the media by two-year college educators in order to make the best possible case for more funds. At the same time, educators are not shy about making comparisons with enrollments in the other segments of higher education. The impact of a statement that "the public community colleges have enrolled more students than any other type of higher education institution in the state (Illinois) since 1972 and have consistently shown the highest rate of growth" (Illinois Community College Board, 1975,

p. 3) is not easily controverted. Consider also the effect Table VII could have on legislators at budget time.

TABLE VII

Enrollments in California Public Colleges and Universities 1973

Institution	All Enrollments		Freshman and Sophomore		Freshman & Sophomore Full-Time Only Enrollments	
Community Colleges	851,311	68%	773,897	88%	298,986	76%
State Universities and Colleges	286,633	23%	73,729	08%	60,562	15%
University of California	118,854	09%	37,871	04%	35,995	09%
Totals	1,256,798	100%	885,497	100%	395,543	100%

Source: California Department of Finance. Total and Full-Time Enrollment in California Institutions of Higher Education, Fall 1973. Sacramento, California, 1973.

Educators accept the number of students served and a corollary measure, the ratio of students to the total population--or for a better result, the ratio to the population 16 years or older--as measures for some form of excellence. Thus, Chancellor Brossman of the California college system proudly announced that one out of every 12 Californians aged 18 to 64 is now (1974) a community college student, up from one of every 26 in 1960. If those served by campus concerts, lectures, and athletic events, and the like were included the ratio would be even more impressive (Peralta Colleges Bulletin, 1974, p. 8). Lee Henderson, (1974) director of Florida's Division of Community Colleges, was even more ecstatic over the unprecedented rise in Headcount enrollments for 1974. The ratio there is one of every 10 persons 16 years or older (Wygal and Owen, 1975). A few are more restrained, pointing to this ratio only as "a measure of the extent of service the community colleges are providing" (Illinois Community College Board, 1975, p. 42). Rare is an acknowledgement that "outputs" of enrollment characteristics do not "adequately reflect the qualitative aspects of a student's experience in college,"

noting that "there are many non-quantifiable functions relating to community service and to students enrolled in non-credit courses (State of New Jersey, Department of Higher Education, 1974, p. 39). Indeed, headcount enrollment figures are heady for two-year college educators. They make excellent copy for news releases and more importantly, are about the most effective arguments for increased state and federal appropriations. Barring a financial collapse, more states will join those that have redefined "student."

How large this potential of older students is, is not definitely known since "there is no comprehensive data base on adults' aspirations for more education" (Westline, 1974, p. 12). For some time, however, two-year college educators (and to a lesser extent other educators) have been using a ratio of students per unit (1,000 or 10,000) of the population as a measure of the effectiveness of the colleges' efforts in attracting students. A common measure is the growth in the proportion of population served by a state's colleges. In the 1971 Junior College Directory states are compared: 1) on the number of persons enrolled per 10,000 population (p. 8); and 2) on the ratio of population to school (p. 9); both for 1960 and 1970. Wattenbarger (1970) went as high as 50 per 1,000 total population as a possible goal for 1980.

Martin Cohen found that area and population density could be used to determine the number of colleges that would be necessary if all states had the "maturity" of seven states, California, Florida, Illinois, Michigan, New York, Ohio and Washington (1972, p. 32d). The use of students' ratio to population over 16 years of age will become more important in future enrollment projections for two-year colleges. A data base is being formed in a number of states and a large number of colleges to provide a useable ratio for such projections.

Students of proprietary postsecondary institutions are another large group toward which some public two-year college administrators cast longing, acquisitive eyes. They hope to woo these students by establishing a large network of outpost classes, more frequent enrollment dates, shorter and more practical skill courses. They also support the enactment of stringent regulatory legislation forcing some of the schools to close and requiring others to be more accurate in their advertising (Arnstein, 1975).

But two-year college educators encounter some resistance from strongly entrenched adult and vocational education groups. In California this resistance has been of long standing, sometimes accompanied by unusual acrimony and bitterness. In the late 1950's two-year college educators were forced by pressure from adult and vocational education leaders to accept legislation on criteria and standards for graded courses that attempted to delineate their jurisdiction on the basis of educational objectives of the students rather than on age alone (California Office of Administrative Hearings, California Administrative Code). However, the restrictions are easily evaded, particularly since they contain weak and ineffectual enforcement provisions. In fact, in recent years two-year colleges have expanded in the area of literacy education, euphemistically labelled adult basic education.

Two-year colleges are also encountering competition from the four-year colleges and universities (Ricklefs, 1975). At all times in their 75-year existence, two-year colleges have had open and covert competition from senior institutions, many of which offered two-year liberal arts and vocational-technical programs. It reached a low point--but never ceased--during the 1960's when the emphasis was on upgrading from teachers colleges and technical institutes to state colleges and in recent years to state universities. Despite this upgrading, 463 four-year colleges and universities still offered associate degrees in 1971.

The decline in enrollments during the 1970's has revived the interest of more state colleges and universities in two-year programs. For example, Kentucky's regional universities whose rate of enrollment increase from 1959 to 1964 was 95 percent and 63 percent from 1964 to 1969 but only 15 percent from 1969 to 1974 have developed a large number of two-year technical programs in an effort to counteract enrollment decreases. The most extensive expansion, undertaken by Eastern Kentucky University has grown to 38 two-year law-enforcement and paramedical programs accounting for 14 percent of the student body (Wilson, 1974). Haywood reported on 11 four-year colleges and universities that in 1974 were offering associate degree programs, some for the first time, with emphasis on the technical areas. He attributed part of the new interest in such programs to community pressure (1974, p. 682) but most of the impetus resulted from declining enrollments. A subtle form of competition comes from senior institutions that establish lower division branch

colleges in carefully selected locations. Such branches reduce the pressure for co unity colleges and gain legislative friends or "political clout" for the universities at budget time (Esquibel, 1974). For statistical purposes some of the enrollments in these programs may be credited to the two-year institution for it is sometimes financially advantageous to classify students as two-year rather than as four-year college students. Nevertheless, no matter how students are classified, the competition of senior colleges still disturbs two-year college educators.

Diversion of students from the two-year colleges to the senior institutions also results from various recruiting practices and admission policies that sometimes border on the unethical. Among them are "buying students with cheap credits for experiential learning," "blanketing students with brochures, booklets and shrill, exaggerated catalogs," and "using no-need grants to lure affluent students" ("National Forum...," 1975).

Although the efforts of senior institutions to recruit students less selectively than formerly pose a threat to two-year colleges the efforts so far have not seriously affected their enrollments. They continue to outstrip the senior institutions in enrolling first-time-in-college students. There is little likelihood that the relative enrollment situation will change during the next five years. In fact the scales will be tipped even more in favor of the two-year colleges as they enroll or count more of the adult education students. In comparison, they have the further advantage in that four-year college and university enrollment reports do not usually include adult and extension enrollment.

While seemingly limitless, increase of enrollment by accretion of institutions or functions does come to an end. The limit is reached when either all education beyond the high school becomes the province of the two-year college or 100 percent of the potential students are enrolled. Neither contingency is likely to happen. The limit seems to lie in a more modest figure. For the next two or three years the year-to-year comparisons will continue to show respectable rates of increase and favorable differential enrollment rates vis-a-vis the senior institutions. But, as the percentage of the population enrolled increases, the rates of increase will go down.

At what point these methods of accretion will cease having an effect on enrollment is difficult to determine. The number of public postsecondary institutions not now included among the two-year colleges is getting smaller and the available population is becoming static. A likely group of institutions that may meet the American Association of Community and Junior College criterion of community-based postsecondary institutions are the area vocational and adult education schools. In Minnesota, for example, there were 23 area vocational-technical institutes with enrollments of over 20,000 students in 1973, almost equalling the enrollments in the community college system (Minnesota Higher Education Coordinating Commission, 1974, pp. 16-17). In Iowa, "There has been a trend to merge existing public postsecondary programs into the statewide system of area schools. For example, all sixteen of the former public junior colleges have merged with area schools. In addition, a great many adult education programs and postsecondary occupational programs operated by local school districts have merged with the area schools" (Iowa State Department of Public Instruction, 1975, p. 5). If the Iowa two-year colleges had included adult students in their enrollment reports in 1974 the Fall Headcount would be greater by more than 100,000 students (p. 9).

Stratagems and Artifices

Two-year colleges are as adept as the senior institutions in the use of stratagems or artifices to increase enrollments. Some of these are modifications of practices that should have been instituted long ago; others may be just temporary expedients, necessary for the moment but to be discontinued as soon as the emergency is over; a few are of doubtful legality; and a number are unethical if not dishonest in nature.

The pressure to sell the college and recruit students has become so widespread that it has made sprightly copy for newspapers, magazines and professional journals. A few educators have spoken out against the growth of unethical practices in these efforts to lure students. Legislators conduct investigations that lead to corrective laws, state coordinating commissions attempt to keep competition under control and state auditors become more vigilant in their scrutiny of enrollment reports submitted by colleges for funding purposes.

The frantic scramble for students raises questions concerning educators' motives--which they profess to be for the good of the people and for the welfare of society. Rarely mentioned is that the welfare of the educational establishment, rather than the students, is paramount--especially as it affects administrators whose prestige has become so dependent upon large enrollments (the "cult of gigantism") and the organizations whose appropriations rise and fall with fluctuations in enrollment. Management shares the conviction so admirably expressed by Churchill that one does not become a leader of an organization in order to preside at its liquidation. Indeed, survival and growth are the new goals; the central purposes are indefinite expansion and unlimited creation of new but unrealizable needs (Bundy, 1974, p. 176).

Unlike administrators, faculty and their representatives use few euphemisms in justifying recruitment of greater numbers as a means of preserving jobs, for "students represent a life sustaining flow of resources" (Leslie and Miller, 1974, p. 34). Albert Shanker, president of the American Federation of Teachers "advocates educare, a lifelong education program from preschoolers to senior citizens, to eliminate teacher unemployment and to improve the quality of life" ("Shanker Advocates Educare...," 1974, p. 287). Representatives of 23 organizations including the AFT and NEA issued a statement deploring attempts to cut federal educational appropriations suggesting instead that budget balancing be achieved by making cuts elsewhere (Neill, 1974).

The stratagems start at the beginning, recruiting. An Arizona college president facetiously remarked at a conference that he looked for students behind every cactus bush. In their policy analysis of long-range enrollment trends for Oregon, Peck and Lincicum (1974), wrote that "both the decline in general enrollments and shifting patterns promise to increase inter- and intra-segmental desires to maintain student bodies to the maximum institutional advantage. Already, recruitment competition is mounting" (p. 13). Alfred, formerly director of institutional research for Metropolitan Community College District in Kansas City, Missouri, reported that in his state there is an annual recruiting war for high school graduates, producing in the process an atmosphere of survival of the fittest (1973). In this competition,

educators are resorting to advertising through wide distribution of circulars, schedules of classes and catalogs, notices in the local press, occasionally even a half-page in The American Scholar (Spring, 1974, v. 43, no. 2, p. 346), and, of course, radio and television.

To make it easy for the recruits to enroll, colleges relax admission standards and ignore application deadlines. Transferees with poor records are admitted with little question. Counseling is increased to help students interpret the complications of a college schedule and to encourage them to enroll in as many units as possible and in a few cases in courses that have low enrollments. Students are told that after attending classes they may drop one or more of the courses they find difficult or unsatisfactory. Instructors are subtly advised not to drop students from their classes until after the census date when enrollments are counted for state funding purposes.

To encourage students to remain in class, penalty grades for withdrawal are either eliminated or assigned only for withdrawals late in the semester. Scholarship standards, modified in the 1960's to help disadvantaged students, now apply to all students. Grades are getting higher; few students are dismissed for scholarship deficiency. Some padding of enrollments, particularly in classes with low enrollments, occasionally takes place. Colleges that are funded on the basis of student class hours raise the number of hours for as many courses as possible.

These stratagems make the difference between a decline and an increase in enrollment ("Ethics of Recruiting...," 1975). One large college, which estimated a decline of 1,000 for the Fall semester at the August deadline date for applications for admission, continued to accept applications until the enrollment reached the number of the previous year. Keeping inactive students on the rolls until after the census date could add as much as one to two percent to the enrollment. This artifice is less effective for colleges charging tuition than for those with no or small tuition, since refund policies act as an incentive for students to withdraw officially as soon as possible.

Legislators aware of such stratagems to increase enrollment are attempting to control or eliminate those which are contrary to the spirit as well as the letter of the law. Some two-year college administrators are having the

same unpleasant experience as two Florida state university presidents who were accused of increasing enrollments by creating phantom credits through artificial juggling of graduate units (Van Dyne, 1974, p. 10). Skepticism of California legislators on the alleged practice of keeping inactive students on the rolls is resulting in resolutions and bills. A measure that is likely to be passed requires two census dates rather than one in determining enrollments for each term. The Department of Finance, which is charged with preparing the legislation on this issue, proposed to the representatives of the State Chancellor's office, but did not press the point, that colleges assign a penalty grade to any student who withdraws after the second census date (Community College Council..., 1974, p. 2).

More serious are the audits made of the college enrollment reports to the State Finance Department. In 1973 auditors found that colleges applied for state subventions for enrollment in courses offered exclusively for people in specific agencies; the most flagrant being in the fire and police science programs. Enrollments in such programs are not eligible for state appropriations. The colleges are being strongly advised to maintain adequate and complete records, including copies of advertisements in local newspapers, pamphlets, and catalogs and other pertinent public documents (California Community and Junior College Association, 1975).

These stratagems do have a favorable effect on yearly enrollment comparisons when first employed, but later they lose their effectiveness in this regard since it becomes difficult to raise enrollment indefinitely. At the initiation of a stratagem the comparisons with the senior institutions also look good unless the latter offset that of the two-year colleges by one or more of their own.

One would like to write that exhortations from their colleagues or the threat of auditors will help administrators become less vulnerable to temptations to increase enrollments by illegal or unethical means, but past experience gives no support for this hope. Whenever an enrollment decline is threatened the educators find means and reasons for some stratagems. During the Korean crisis a few administrators counted the time students spent in the library and the counseling office for enrollment purposes. Some even installed turnstiles!

Not all stratagems mentioned above are unethical or illegal. The majority are, in fact, beneficial and should be continued regardless of the enrollment trend. Among these are better recruiting to attract all strata of the population, elimination of arbitrary application deadlines, open-ended or continuous enrollment, improved enrollment procedures, reexamination of scholarship and grading policies and establishment of centers of learning near students' homes or workplaces. Particularly encouraging are the efforts to reduce attrition rates through better counseling and teaching. Of course, many of the strategems would not be necessary if colleges found a way to reduce attrition rates so that fewer students fail or become discouraged and a larger percentage of the Fall semester students reenroll in the Spring semester.

Competition is becoming so intense and often questionable that state coordinating boards and legislatures are pushing for institutional coordination and cooperative planning. Much of this is directed by the various "1202" postsecondary commissions established under the terms of the Higher Education Amendments Act of 1972. In Virginia, for example, legislation provides for regional committees with representation of the educational segments, business, industry, or the professions "to review all adult education offerings in a region, identifying those not being met or determining if duplication of offerings exists and to facilitate a cooperative effort by the community colleges and the public schools" ("Adult Education...," 1974). The Minnesota Higher Education Coordinating Commission believes that Minnesota postsecondary education is at the threshold of what may become the most dramatic transition ever experienced by the state's educational enterprise. It noted that "The emerging transition and the uncertainties together create a critical need for strengthening its planning and policies capabilities, to provide stability for the educational enterprise, to facilitate change consistent with needs and to rationalize the transition." The Commission foresees "some dramatic changes in structures and perhaps even some dismantling of institutions" (Minnesota Higher Education Coordinating Commission, Dec. 1974). As the 1202 commissions get organized, more will establish state guidelines for reducing the competition and eliminating the grossest abuses. They are unlikely to prevent competition for students by

"legitimate" means any more than athletic conference rules have eliminated competition for athletes.

Summary

For the past several years two-year college educators have been acting as if the enrollment curve will continue to slope upward indefinitely. Their ability to reverse the 1971 and 1972 downward rate of growth convinces them that new strategies in recruiting, new teaching techniques, new delivery systems, and many internal administrative reforms can overcome the adverse effects of a declining population growth rate, even the approaching era of zero growth.

They recognize that much of their good fortune results from having wide popular and governmental support, support which has made it possible to establish a network of campuses and satellite centers within easy reach of a large proportion of the population--in some states within reach of 90-95 percent. This support is predicated on their willingness to accept all adults, regardless of previous educational experience and to modify their educational philosophy to include programs heretofore labelled less-than-college grade. Coupled with the easy accessibility is their low tuition and fee policy.

They look on the increase in part-time students as another example of their ability to be on the "cutting edge" of change. Nationally, the percentages of part-timers has risen to 56; in a dozen states to 60 and 70. By 1980 most of the colleges will be composed of a majority of part-time students. This transformation may not have been the educators' design, but once they observed the trend, they capitalized on it by catering to "the new breed of students" the part-time majority composed of older students, senior citizens, women, younger students who must work to support themselves, convicts, parolees, physically handicapped, illiterates, and near illiterates.

Above all, two-year college educators have an unquestioned faith in the efficacy of their educational program to bring the good life--a degree, a skill, recreational activity--to the people--so much so that they adopt the marketplace principle of the existence of a consumer need which must be

filled and for which they must develop an educational program, course, or activity to service. They may deny that they subscribe to the corollary that even if the student doesn't need more education they are duty bound to convince him that he can profit from it. But skeptics from within and the irreverent from without compare their efforts to attract students through such products as mini courses, credit for life experiences, and recreational activities to television and radio sales pitches for cold and pain remedies.

Nevertheless, two-year college educators are bolstered in their belief by the results--people are coming to the campuses and satellites in greater numbers than to any other segment of higher education. It seems obvious to them that if students keep coming they must like their products--more important that the products are what students want. They also believe that the products are good for them. In this belief they get encouragement from testimonials, from legislators, public office holders, influential citizens, and occasionally students. They exhibit some concern and anguish, if not outright disbelief when a report appears claiming that special programs for the disadvantaged and vocational training miss their goals (Trombley, November, 1974).

Within the walls not a few instructors are dismayed at the changes taking place as illiterates and near illiterates fill the seats made empty by the decline in the "regular" high school graduates. Though these new students prevent reduction in force the tenured instructors keep deploring the debasement of the college and the continuance of second class education (Zwerling, 1974). They see these efforts as an artificial bolstering of enrollment, and as posing the greatest risk confronting the two-year colleges today. However, they seem helpless to counteract "The Selling of the Community College" (Norris, 1975).

Though the administrators overcome most of the criticisms, they are confronted with the problem of developing a new identity for the institution. As they recruit more and more students incapable of "college-level" work, they feel the necessity for downplaying their higher education role. Their search for a new name is already under way; for some time in fact a few felt that too many concentrated on "college" and overlooked the "community." Some think the joining of this issue is long overdue. The president of the

American Association of Community and Junior Colleges said, "In the phrase 'community college', the accent too often has been on the word 'college'" (Gleazer, 1973-1974, p. 7). Rhetorically, he asked "Is our field community colleges or postsecondary education?" (p. 8).

It is unlikely that the term "college" which still has high favor among students and educators, will soon be dropped. For too long the two-year college educators have struggled to maintain their association with the state colleges and universities. Wherever a union of the two-year colleges and technical institutions has taken place the term "college" is always incorporated in the conglomerate. There is little to suggest that practicing educators, including those searching for a new mission will follow the leaders away from the higher education or college orientation.

However, it may happen that the term "community college" may sink so low in prestige that the regular students will move to the state colleges and universities, especially if entrance requirements are relaxed and larger financial inducements are offered. Then, as Corcoran (1972) implied, the community colleges may become "The Slums of Higher Education."

For those who still believe in the community college as a legitimate segment of higher education, the task ahead is formidable. In their quest for ever greater enrollments they cannot neglect the needs of the traditional college-oriented students in the academic and technical areas. They must provide them with high grade courses and programs so that the academic students can continue their education at the university and the technical can hold middle management positions in business and industry. Otherwise, an academic form of Gresham's Law will operate--the less capable students will drive out the more capable.

Pragmatically, the two-year college educators are not so shortsighted that they do not see how vital the traditional students are to the economy of their enterprise. They certainly are aware of the fact, if the public is not, that in terms of effective enrollment as measured by FTE the academic and technical students continue to generate the largest portion of state funds. The other students, the participants in recreational programs, short courses, and special events, swell the Headcount but produce fewer FTEs.

Nevertheless the heads of the major associations and a few college presidents and chancellors are groping for a conceptual basis for nontraditional study reflecting "functions and services to students rather than institutional bureaucracy". They seek to justify as "collegiate educational services" the courses, programs, and activities that are provided for the nontraditional students who formerly attended adult education institutions (Park, 1975). They seek a shift from a degree orientation to a service dimension, thus countering what they feel is the public's obsession for degrees. They are placing their hopes on community-based education, financed in part by "a new pattern of state support" (Koltai, 1974) and in part by the federal government ("New National Legislation Is Proposed...," 1975).

Regardless of philosophy the process toward a transformation from a two-year college to a postsecondary institution (appelation still to be found) is in motion as more states respond to the educators' plea for counting as a student anyone who attends a class or participates in an activity. For the next five years enrollments will continue to rise, as the states join in funding the colleges on the basis of the revised definition of students. Most projectors look for an enrollment of 4 to 5 million by 1980 (Drake, 1975, p. 3); some set their sights much higher at 10 to 12 million. If the latter projection materializes the two-year colleges will duplicate or better the four-fold enrollment growth of the 1960's. Representative Albert H. Quie believes "community colleges could soon be serving over half of the adult population pursuing formal education and training" (1975, p. 31).

It remains to be seen how stable the influx of new students will be. Today, it appears that the population contains such a large potential that the two-year colleges will not suffer an enrollment decline as have the elementary and secondary schools and other higher education institutions. This reasoning overlooks the possibility, indeed the probability, that a saturation point will be reached for the nontraditional cohort just as it has been reached for the 18-22 year-olds or the high school graduates. Eventually the percentage of older students attending the two-year colleges will cease to rise and may even decline. If the population should show an actual decline or if the proportion of those over 60 continues to grow at its present rate, saturation may be reached shortly after 1980.

Colleges that maintain their commitment to the higher education concept are experiencing the same slowdown in enrollment as are the four-year colleges and universities. This is particularly true in the New England states. A few colleges in the inner cities and in rural areas are also having enrollment difficulties, as a result of population declines. So far, however, very few are in danger of closing their doors. The worst that is happening for some colleges is adjusting to a steady state.

A new era is beginning for the two-year colleges. The prospect is for continued rise of enrollments, absorption of more functions in the direction of nontraditional programs different from the collegiate-oriented programs. These include those formerly classified as less-than-college level. At the same time adult and vocational education institutions of the high school or area vocational schools are being placed under the aegis of the two-year colleges. All of these developments will insure enrollment increases until 1980. In this new era the two-year colleges may be transformed into institutions in which the collegiate character will be subordinated to the "community" aspect. Before this happens, however, there is likely to be a serious struggle between the traditionalists and the nontraditionalists. Even those who plead for moving in the new direction recognize there are problems. Gleazer has noted, "Some community colleges are highly preoccupied with the academic credit and transfer role; faculty members 'love' academically qualified students; there is a serious need for retraining of presidents, vice presidents, and faculty" (1973-1974, p. 11).

Notwithstanding the flowing statements that accompany reports of large increases in headcount enrollment, the community college leaders know or are reminded that "The Boom Slows" (Scully, 1974). Their search for new students, their willingness to transform the college from an institution of higher education to a postsecondary institution that enrolls any person for almost any course, program, or activity, their intensified efforts to absorb more of the adult and vocational education functions conducted by the secondary school are signs of dynamism, but they also reflect uneasiness over the enrollment situation. Their faith in the historical role of the community college as a two-year collegiate postsecondary institution offering transfer, general education, and vocational education programs is weakening, as is attested by the

arguments for abandoning it. For many, including state and national leaders, adherence to the historical role is the prelude to decline.

The drift toward serving all the people over 17 years of age is merely an extension of the postulate enunciated a quarter century ago by President Truman's Commission on Higher Education (U.S. President's Commission..., 1947), i.e., at least half of America's youth are capable of profiting from education through grade 14. If we count participants in the various college services and activities, the goal of universal higher education seems within reach. And since Americans see promise in education, the contribution of the public two-year college in the achievement of this goal stands as its most signal contribution. It has performed and continues to perform for the disadvantaged of the second half of the Twentieth Century what the elementary schools did for the children of immigrants in the early years of the Century. Were it not for the danger that in their zeal two-year college educators may be promising more than their colleges can deliver and thereby creating a disallusionment with two-year college education similar to that with todays' elementary schools we could look to the future of the two-year college with continued hope. One must wonder, however, if the two-year college (or any institution) can develop an effective educational program for a student body or clientele whose aptitude is far wider in range and whose interests are more diverse than have been experienced before the recent upsurge in enrollment. The specter of a catchall institution with a largely custodial function is not too farfetched.

But this is for the future. Today the process toward coordinating all public postsecondary institutions--community colleges, vocational-technical institutes, area vocational schools, adult education schools--has been accomplished to a large degree in Hawaii, Iowa, Nebraska, and Wisconsin as well as in scattered districts throughout California, Florida, Illinois, and other states. It is far enough advanced to be a harbinger of the direction the two-year colleges will take during the rest of this decade, barring a fiscal debacle, and well into the 1980's.

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